



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

RS/R FILES

Attention MRS MULLETT
Keep this study together.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A.
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: SALT Agreements Ratification
Ceremony

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September 15, 1978 A/CDC/MR
REVIEWED BY [Signature] DATE 7/15/80
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According to international practice, the exchange of instruments of ratification of the ABM Treaty and of the written notices of acceptance for the Interim Agreement should take place in Washington since their signature took place in Moscow. The President may then proclaim the Treaty in force.

An appropriate ceremony might be held shortly after ratification has been completed by both sides. While we cannot predict how quickly the Soviets will act, chances are that they will not ratify the ABM Treaty until the Interim Agreement has been approved by the U.S. Congress. We should then allow several days for transmittal of the documents from Moscow and for reaching an understanding with the Soviets on the ceremony.

A suggested scenario for an appropriate ceremony is attached. In addition, we have prepared an outline of the procedures involved and points the President may wish to make in his remarks.

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As soon as the basic guidelines for the ceremony have been approved, we will work out a detailed program and guest list.

Revised for
Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Suggested Scenario
2. Procedural Details of the Ceremony
3. Suggested Points for Inclusion in the President's Remarks

Clearances:

ACDA/GC - Mr. Van Doren <i>W</i>	PM - Mr. Shaw <i>W</i>
ACDA/ST - Mr. Keeny <i>W</i>	SY - Mr. McDermott <i>W</i>
ACDA/IR - Mr. Shinn <i>W</i>	SOV - Mr. Kadilis <i>W</i>
L/T - Mr. Bevans <i>W</i>	S/CPR - Mr. Smoak <i>W</i>

ACDA/IR:JWMendelsohn:ems
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TAB A

Suggested Scenario

The Ceremony

Although a ceremony for the exchange of instruments of ratification is not legally required, ceremonies have been held for arms control agreements in the past. There was Presidential participation in ceremonies bringing into force the Outer Space Treaty (1967) and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (1970). The former took place at the White House and a White House ceremony was also held for the first US-Soviet bilateral treaty -- the Consular Convention -- both under the previous Administration.

After the Joint Resolution approving the Interim Agreement has been signed the entry into force of the SALT Agreements will involve three actions:

- the exchange of instruments of ratification of the ABM Treaty;
- the simultaneous exchange of written notices of acceptance of the Interim Agreements; and
- proclamation by the President of the entry into force of the ABM Treaty. (See TAB C for the procedural details)

Although Presidential proclamation of the ABM Treaty could be done separately from the other actions, it would be expedient and appropriate that all be combined into one ceremony.

Place

In view of the President's close personal association with the SALT Agreements, he might wish the ceremony to be held in the White House. The East Room could accommodate approximately 200 guests plus the press corps.

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On the other hand, wide public interest in the Agreements might make a longer guest list and a larger hall preferable. In that case, the ceremony could be held in the Main Conference Room of the Department of State. Press facilities are adequate, but special platforms would be required for photographers in the back of the hall. The two previous agreements to emerge from SALT -- the Hot Line and the Accidents Agreements -- were both signed in the Main Conference Room.

For a very large ceremony, the West Auditorium of the Department might be used. It seats 760 persons, and has suitable press facilities.

Participants

In a ceremony combining the exchange of documents and the Presidential proclamation on the ABM Treaty, the President would be seated in the center with the Secretary and Ambassador Smith to his right and the Soviet officials to his left.

Normally, the highest ranking Soviet official would be Ambassador Dobrynin. Given the particular importance of these Agreements, however, there might be additional high-level Soviet participation. If the ceremony coincides with Gromyko's presence at the UNGA, he might attend.

If only Dobrynin participates, translators will not be required. If other Soviets are present, we suggest consecutive translation of all remarks from a lectern at the side. There would be full press coverage and a reception could be organized following the ceremony.

Guest List

The size of the guest list will depend on the place selected for the ceremony. Possible guidelines are as follows:

Executive Branch - The Cabinet, all principal officials involved with SALT, including members of the SALT delegation and some wives.

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Legislative Branch - Members of the leadership of both Houses; all members of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees; Chairmen of the House Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committees, ranking minority members, and members of the Zablocki Subcommittee; Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and ranking minority members; senior members of the staff of these Committees. If all members of the House Foreign Affairs and Armed Services Committee are invited, the total Congressional guest list would be about 130 persons.

Diplomatic Community - UN Secretary General Waldheim, Ambassadors from the NATO and Warsaw Pact Countries, other member nations of the Geneva Disarmament Conference (the CCD, which includes Japan and other representative neutrals) and Australia, New Zealand, Austria, Finland and Switzerland. The Soviet Embassy would have a special allotment of seats.

Other - Key public representatives, including the General Advisory Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament, and the press.

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TAB B

PROCEDURAL DETAILS OF THE CEREMONY

The arrangements for the ceremony and the procedures would be as follows:

1. The President would be seated at the center with Secretary Rogers and Ambassador Smith to his right and the Soviet representatives to his left.

2. The U.S. instrument of ratification of the ABM Treaty and the U.S. notice of acceptance of the Interim Agreement would be placed on the table before Secretary Rogers, and the corresponding U.S.S.R. instrument of ratification and notice of acceptance would be placed on the table before the ranking Soviet representative. We recommend the U.S. instrument of ratification of the ABM Treaty, the notice of acceptance of the Interim Agreement, and the joint Congressional resolution on the Interim Agreement be signed by the President before the ceremony.

3. Mr. Charles Bevans and Mrs. Eleanor C. McDowell of the Department's Treaty Affairs staff would assist Secretary Rogers, the Soviet representative, and the President in the exchange and signature of the documents involved. (The Soviet representative may prefer to have a member of his staff assist him).

4. Mr. John R. Stevenson, Legal Adviser of the Department, would open the ceremony by announcing its purpose as being the exchange of the instruments of ratification of the Treaty between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. on the Limitation of Anti-ballistic Missile Systems, the exchange of notices of acceptance of the Interim Agreement between the two States on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, and the proclamation of the ABM Treaty by the President. He will assure the President that the instruments to be exchanged have been examined by representatives of the two Governments and found to be proper in every respect.

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5. Secretary Rogers would hand the U.S. instrument of ratification and notice of acceptance to Mr. Bevens, and the Soviet representative would hand the corresponding U.S.S.R. instrument of ratification and notice of acceptance to Mrs. McDowell.

6. Mr. Bevens and Mrs. McDowell would exchange these documents and then place the U.S. instrument of ratification and notice of acceptance before Ambassador Dobrynin and place the U.S.S. R. instrument of ratification and notice of acceptance before Secretary Rogers. After Secretary Rogers and the Soviet representative have examined those documents, Mr. Bevens would place before Secretary Rogers for signature a Protocol, in English and in Russian, on the exchange of the instruments of ratification and of the notices of acceptance. Mrs. McDowell would place the Protocol, in Russian and in English, before the Soviet representative for signature.

7. The text of the Protocol signed by Secretary Rogers would then be placed before the Soviet representative for signature, and the text of the Protocol first signed by the Soviet representative would be placed before Secretary Rogers for signature. This would complete the procedures required for bringing the Treaty and the Interim Agreement into force.

8. The ranking Soviet representative would then speak.

9. The proclamation would then be placed before President Nixon for signature and before Secretary Rogers for his counter signature. This would complete the proclamation of the Treaty.

10. The President would then speak.

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TAB C

Suggested Points for Inclusion
in the President's Remarks

If a date for Phase II has been established by the time of the ceremony, this might be a suitable occasion for the President to announce the schedule for the resumption of the SALT talks.

In his remarks, the President might wish to make the following points:

- the SALT Agreements are now in force. They mark an historic step in arms control, in US-USSR relations and in global security. In SALT, the US sought to achieve through negotiation, rather than competition, a more stable strategic relationship with the USSR. Stabilizing this relationship has reduced the threat of nuclear war and, over time, could lead to a situation in which both sides could devote more of their resources to purposes other than building additional weapons.
- while the SALT Agreements stand by themselves as arms control measures, they also form part of a broader network of understandings between the US and the USSR. The Agreements demonstrate that relations between our countries can be improved by cooperation and negotiation in some areas even though important differences may remain in others.
- SALT has not created a new strategic balance between the US and the USSR, but it has created a new psychological atmosphere. By strengthening the concept of mutual deterrence, SALT has linked the US and the Soviet Union in a unique sort of interdependence. And by our mutual commitment not to interfere with national means of verification SALT has established the principle of non-interference in a formal system of compliance.

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- these Agreements have provided a solid basis for further progress in our efforts to control strategic arms. We intend to pursue the next phase of SALT with the same energy and determination as in the initial round with the aim of transforming the Interim Agreement into a Permanent Treaty on offensive weapons.
- progress in SALT enhances the security not only of the US and the USSR, but of the entire world. SALT emphasizes the fact that global security is interdependent, that all nations have a role to play in the continuing efforts towards arms control, and that reductions in tension anywhere benefit the entire world.

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WASHINGTON

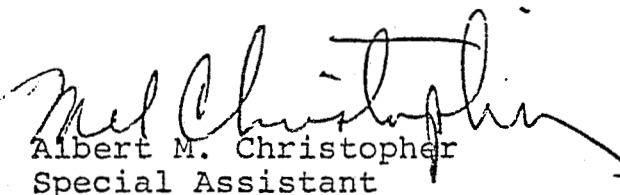
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THE DIRECTORMEMORANDUM

TO: S/S - Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.

SUBJECT: SALT Agreements Ratification Ceremony

In response to the request you received from the NSC, attached is an Eliot-Kissinger memorandum transmitting an appropriately cleared scenario for the SALT Agreements ratification ceremony.

After obtaining White House approval of the suggested scenario, we will draw up a detailed program and guest list.


Albert M. Christopher
Special Assistant

Attachments:

As stated.

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